1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

ince. North of the Tien Shan the greatest concentration is also near the Soviet frontier, in the Ili Valley.

The population is divided, economically, between those who live by cultivation and those who depend on animal husbandry. Other occupations, such as trade and handicrafts, are of far less importance. In religion, the people are divided among the Moslem, Confucian-Buddhist-Taoist, Lama-Buddhist, and Greek Orthodox faiths, with an overwhelming predominance of Moslems.[2]

The sedentary oasis Moslems, though less strict in religious observance than many other Islamic peoples, are more strict than the pastoral Moslems, who have retained a great deal of their earlier shamanistic beliefs.

Racial divisions in Sinkiang have rarely been described in scientifically acceptable terms. What little scientific information is available points to a mixture of two main racial elements. One is the racial type designated as Alpine, relatively tall with wavy hair, gray or brown eyes, thin prominent nose, "white" skin, and thick facial and body hair. The other is the racial type known as Mongoloid, relatively short with straight hair, black eyes with the "Mongolian fold," nose broad at the base, light brown skin, slight facial and body hair, and other features characteristic of the peoples of continental eastern Asia.

The settled inhabitants of the Tashkurgan area in southwesternmost Sinkiang, the Tajiks or Sarikolis, are most representative of the Alpine type. They are a small group who speak an Iranian language and are commonly believed to be remnants of the indigenous population of a large part of Inner Asia. Following them in conspicuously Alpine characteristics are the settled people of the Tarim Basin, the Uighurs, who constitute about three quarters of the population of the province. Closest to the pure Mongoloid type are the Chinese and the Mongols, followed by the main

[2] Unpublished figures secured in Sinkiang by Mr. Chang Chih-yi are as follows:

Moslem	3,439,000
Confucian-Buddhist-Taoist	215,000
Lama-Buddhist	63,000
Greek Orthodox	13,000

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Uighur

From 745 to 840, warriors of this confederation penetrated into Inner Asia north and south of the Tien Shan. In 840 the Uighur power in Mongolia was destroyed by Kirghiz from the Lake Baikal-Yenisei area. Some of the Uighur warrior class succeeded in withdrawing southwest, where they took over the oases north of the Tien Shan, infiltrated in large numbers into the oases south of the mountains, and made themselves the rulers of a settled population. From Chinese transcriptions of the name Uighur, like *Hui-hu* and *Wei-wu-erh*, there was eventually formed the name "Hui" or "Hui-hui," the popular Chinese term for all Moslems.

The people or peoples among whom the Uighurs were absorbed but to whom they gave their name had for half a millennium or so enjoyed several flourishing civilizations. From the oases of easternmost Sinkiang have been recovered documents dating from the first century A.D., written in the Sogdian script. The language of these documents has been identified as belonging to the Indo-Iranian group; the main centers of the Soghds were Samarkand and Bokhara, but their language was widely used in Inner Asia, especially by traders. The Khotan oasis has given up documents in the Tokharian language and also in the Saka language, also belonging to the Indo-Iranian group, which date from 200–400 A.D. and are written in the Kharoshthi script, which came from India. The Saka civilization was related to the Kushan culture in northwestern India, and like it showed marked Hellenistic influences. In the same period there flourished in the Kucha and Turfan oases a civilization which also used the Tokharian language. What is most interesting about this language is that it belongs, like the Indo-Iranian languages just mentioned, to the larger Indo-European family, but unlike them has more affinity with languages of the "Kentum group" spoken in western Europe than with those farther east.

Besides speaking Indo-European languages the pre-Uighur peoples were distinguished by their devotion to Buddhism and Greco-Buddhist art, and to Manichaeism. The most important literary and artistic treasures from the Tarim Basin are connected with these religions.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Kazak
Kirghiz

*563 197 212 cent of the Kazakhs were still illiterate. Rapid change in this respect accompanied the process of collectivization, and by 1939, 76.3 per cent were literate.

*563 771 562 The majority of the Kazakhs were not converted to Mohammedanism until the seventeenth century. Even then they remained lax in observing many of the rules of Islam. They neither veil nor seclude their women, because the conditions of nomadic life require active kinds of work which would be hampered by the veil. Men and women mingle in many kinds of work around the camp. They are also lax about the details of the Moslem dietary laws, except for the prohibition against pork; they do not adhere strictly to the hours of prayer or the seasons of fasting, and frequently neglect to circumcise their sons.

*563 101 *Kirghiz.* There has been considerable confusion in the use of the term Kirghiz. The Russians, to avoid confusion with the Russian Cossacks, formerly called both the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs "Kirghiz," adding the term *Kara* (black) to the real Kirghiz, and calling the Kazakhs "Kirghiz *Kaisak.*" These distinctions were made, however, only when absolutely necessary. In everyday use, both people were called "Kirghiz." It was only with the establishment of national autonomy for both peoples under Soviet rule that a clear distinction was made between the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs.

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are divided today by the frontier between China and the U.S.S.R. Up to the time of the Soviet Revolution the historical development of the Kirghiz on both sides of the frontier was essentially the same. It was only with the establishment of the Kirghiz Soviet Republic, which encompasses the vast majority of the Kirghiz, that the development of the Kirghiz people on either side of the frontier began to take on radically different forms. While the Soviet Kirghiz have been partly settled, organized into collectives, and enjoy a high degree of cultural and political autonomy, the Sinkiang Kirghiz are continuing in the traditional ways.

000 The original home of the Kirghiz was on the upper Yenisei

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Kazan Tatar

In 1552 Kazan was conquered by the Moscow State, and from this time on the Tatars have been under Russian rule. In 1920 they received autonomous status and formed the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, in which they comprise the majority of the population. Considerable numbers of them live also in the Bashkir A.S.S.R. and in the Molotov, Gorki, and Saratov districts of the R.S.F.S.R., as well as in Sinkiang.

Before the revolution the main economy of the Tatars was based on agriculture, but many individual Tatars were active traders, especially as middlemen for Russian firms in Turkic speaking areas, such as Russian and Chinese Inner Asia.

Tatar is a Turkic language and belongs to the northwestern group of this language family.

The Tatars are Sunni Mohammedans. They were converted to Islam in the tenth century. After the Russian conquest of the Volga region, attempts were made by Russian colonizers to convert them to Christianity by offering economic advantages to converts, but success was negligible.

The older Tatar literature represents a comparatively small body of primarily religious literature. In the second half of the nineteenth century a secular, rational, realistic, and increasingly nationalist trend made itself felt under the influence of Russian culture. In the twentieth century, Tatar literature — like Russian literature — has been strongly preoccupied with practical political questions, and the various literary schools have been political schools rather than aesthetic movements. Today the Tatars in the Soviet Union possess a flourishing literature, strongly influenced by Western forms. The complicated Arabic script which had been such a bar to the elimination of illiteracy was abandoned in favor of a Latinized script which, in the late thirties, was in turn replaced by a Cyrillic script.

563 lo), "Kuerhliq," those of Ha-mi (Qomul), "Qomuliq," and on and on. There has also, however, been a countertendency to associate these exceptionally localized Turkic and "Alpine" ethnic types as a whole with the Uighur race that flourished anciently in the Sinkiang area. Since Sheng Shih-ts'ai came to power in Sinkiang, these *Ch'an Hui* (or Chanto) have been given the name of *Wei-wu-erh,* a Chinese transliteration of "Uighur."

144 It is not clear precisely what the earliest racial stock inhabiting the Western Regions, or present-day Sinkiang, was. Investigation has disclosed the existence of relatively ancient independent peoples in the Altai region, perhaps as early as the third century B.C., and one pioneer student of the subject has described their history as being "mysteriously wrapped up" in that of the Uighurs "from the far south of Mongolia. . . ." The Uighurs are supposed to have been a light-haired and blue-eyed people and in them, it is insisted, is to be found the "origin of the Turkish race who, later on, overflowed all Central Asia and made an Empire on the shore of the Bosphorus."

771 175 Some of these Uighur peoples of Sinkiang seem at one time to have believed in Manichaeism—the doctrines of the Persian, Manes—but they were willing to try their religious luck elsewhere. They became in turn Nestorian Christians, Buddhists, and finally and most permanently, Moslems. In the eighth century—when almost simultaneous Tibetan and Arab attacks had forced the Chinese armies of Kao Hsien-chih to fall back in retreat from Turkestan and when the Arab forces were advancing successfully under Qutaiba to the edge of the Pamirs—the Uighurs gradually turned to Islam. As the T'ang Dynasty's military standing declined in Turkestan, its nominal subjects—the Uighurs—began to carry on for it the burden of colonial rule. The Uighur prestige grew so swiftly that, before the tenth century was well under way, they wielded the balance of power in Turkestan from their capital at Bishbalik, near the site of the present Sinkiang capital, Tihwa. During this period they served almost as an overland bridge for the introduction of Mohammedan culture into China. The Uighurs themselves derived considerable cultural benefit from their newly gained strategic position; and their language, Turki, was established permanently in

175 815

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

538

The author of "La Haute Asie," who collected all the *tazkiras* of the various shrines (a fact of which I was unaware when I acquired and translated a copy of the Imamlär one), shows that in their present form they all date from about the beginning of the eighteenth century. They are Sunni editions of the original Shi'a legends of the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. Even the Shi'a legends, however, were not original. They were adaptations by the early mullas of pre-Muhammadan traditions connected with ancestor-worship at local shrines. None of the Twelve Imams came to Kashgar at all; the heroes of the legends were almost certainly eighth to tenth century Shi'a adventurers escaping from the persecution of the Ommiad Caliphs and other Sunni authorities. With small bands of followers, these bold Saracens raided Chinese territory in much the same way as their Western brethren raided Europe, and their exploits became legendary, like the eighth-century Saracen raid into the south of France which ended in the Battle of Poitiers. These "Imams" accomplished little, and they were all either killed or taken prisoner by the natives. None of their raids, Grenard thinks, preceded the authentic attempt of Qutaibah to impose Islam upon Kashgaria in the tenth century; it was Qutaibah who led the way, and yet he is not mentioned at all in the *tazkiras* and is entirely forgotten. This is because he was a Sunni.

771

The complete conversion of the Tarim Basin to Islam was a slow process. In the tenth century the official religion of the country was Buddhism, with its chief stronghold at Khotan, but it was a debased Buddhism, and a pagan Manichæism was the real religion of the people. Paganism died hard in the Basin; indeed, as we shall see later, it is not by any means dead yet. The destruction of the old Buddhist theocracy at Khotan and the conversion of the whole country to Islam were begun by Qutaibah and the so-called Imams, and continued by Sadiq Boghra Khan, the Uigur Prince who first embraced Islam. Then came the Qara Khitai and the Mongols, and the Faith received a set-back. It was not till the fourteenth century that Islam could be definitely called the religion of the country. In the meantime the Muhammadan element had been evolving its tradition and consolidating its position *vis-à-vis* the pagans.

of numbering the army of the Faithful; the Psalm; the derivations of Pialma, Goma, etc., and the punishment meted out to the men of Ujat (see next paragraph). Prof. Huntington, who visited Imamlär in 1905, mentions this same *tazkira* ("Pulse of Asia," p. 164).

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

771 Its method was simply to appropriate the pagan heroes with their local cults and identify them with its own pioneers. The cult of the Imams and other Mussulman saints, as Grenard points out,[1] goes back to religions older than Islam. The Mussulman priests, powerless to destroy the popular worship at certain shrines, adopted those shrines and christened them with the names of Islamic personages.

538 I came across several such survivals of pre-Muhammadan traditions during our travels, though I did not always recognize their true significance. At Chira, half-way between Khotan and Keriya, is the shrine of one of the foremost "Imams," Ja'far Tairan. The local legend is that this Imam came flying through the air from Mecca to convert the Kingdom of Khotan. Now Hsuan Tsang in the seventh century tells of a sacred image at Keriya, 20 feet high and luminous, which at the death of the Buddha flew by itself from Kochambi in India, where it was made, to a place in the north of the Kingdom of Khotan.[2] A still more striking instance is that of the story in the Imamlär *tazkira* about the men of Ujat who entered the camp of the Imams by night disguised as dogs and rendered the arms and armour of the Mussulmans useless, thus helping the King of Khotan to defeat them. This is evidently an adaptation of the legend of the sacred rats recorded by Hsuan Tsang and quoted by Sir Aurel Stein.[3] Khotan was being invaded by a great force of Hiong-nu or Huns, and its king was in despair. One night he was visited in a dream by the King of the Rats, who offered him his help. The King of Khotan accepted the offer, and next night a great army of rats "as big as hedgehogs, their hair the colour of gold and silver," invaded the camp of the Huns and ate all their bow-strings and the leather fastenings of their harness. This altogether incapacitated the Huns, who were easily defeated next day. Thenceforward the rats which lived near the scene of the battle were regarded as sacred and fed regularly by pilgrims. The curious thing is that, according to Stein, the scene of this battle is the same as that of the defeat and death of Imam Shakir where now stands the "Pigeon Shrine" of Qumrabat Padshahim; and Stein thinks that the pigeons are the lineal descendants, as it were, of the golden-haired rats. It will be remembered that the Ujat men assumed

[1] Vol. II, p. 240. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] "Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan," p. 195.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

The fact is that not only ancestor-worship but paganism is still strong in this land flowing with milk and honey, despite a thousand years of Islam, just as it survives all the thunderings of the priests in the backwoods of Persia. At Kerman the "Nauruz" or Zoroastrian New Year is still the most popular annual festival, and you may see the revellers picnicking in their thousands on a March afternoon under the "Ya 'Ali" cliff-shrine or on the sun-warmed rocks of the Kala-i-Ardashir. But the Sunni of the Tarim Basin is even more easy-going and joy-loving than the Shi'a of East Persia. He displays little fanaticism and none of the passionate self-immolation which marks a Persian Muharram, when the naked backs of the flagellants resound and frenzied swordsmen redden the streets with blood from their own scalps. He, too, celebrates the Zoroastrian *Nauraz*, at any rate at Yarkand, where the Jahan Bagh Fair in March is undoubtedly a survival of New Year celebrations. We were unfortunate to miss this fair both years we were in Chinese Turkistan, but I heard a certain amount about it. It is held on the big common to the north-east of the Old City, and goes on for three or four weeks. There are no religious observances and the people give themselves up to feasting and jollity; as might be expected, there is a good deal of immorality. For this reason the priests strongly disapprove of it, and do all they can to induce the Chinese authorities to forbid the holding of the fair. Against them are arrayed all the bakers, sweetmeat-sellers, acrobats, pimps, story-tellers and others who stand to reap a rich harvest; these organize monster petitions to the Amban in favour of the fair being held, and even, it is said, subscribe many hundred taels among themselves for the oiling of the necessary palms at the Yamen. The *pashraps* or police support the Jahan Bagh festival, for they, too, make heavy profits out of it, chiefly by blackmailing unmarried women. Many of the religious festivals, for that matter, are more pagan than Mussulman, especially those which are seasonal and therefore unconnected with the Muhammadan (lunar) calendar; they are merely popular gatherings for the purpose of feasting and enjoyment, and probably date back thousands of years. At the end of August, for example, greedy pilgrims from all over the province congregate at the fane of "Hazrat Sultanim," Sadiq Boghra Khan, to feast on the luscious figs of Astin Artush. The same applies to summer Saturdays at the beautiful shrine of Hidayatulla Khoja, known

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

796 as "Hazrat Apak," most famous of the priest-kings, or "Khojas" from Samarqand, who misruled Kashgar from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards. Hazrat Apak is really a kind of country club for Kashgar; the *tawwuf* or "circling" of the shrines is supposed to be performed by every visitor, but the famous apricots and melons of Besh Karim are the attraction rather than the exhortations of the mullas. Even the Ashura (10th Muharram) festival at Ordam Padshah, in the desert east of Yangi Hissar, where is the shrine of Ali Arslan, is little more than a fair like Jahan Bagh with the immorality kept in bounds under the watchful eyes of the Church.[1]

771 It must be confessed, then, that the secular struggle waged by Islam against superstition, paganism and the cult of joy in the land of the Six Cities is an up-hill one. Perhaps the mullas are less zealous than the *mujtahidin* of Kerbela, less eloquent than the *mutakallimin* of Shiraz; for a nation has the priests it deserves. However this may be, their best friends could not call the Kashgaris good Mussulmans. Few perform more than one or two of the five daily prayers, and the Ramazan fast is often broken in private. Observance of the Qur'anic precepts is apt to vary directly with the number of persons present, a fact noted with dry humour by the Chinese in their saying "One Moslem, no Moslem; two Moslems, half a Moslem; three Moslems, one Moslem."

796 Of all their religious duties, the Ramazan fast bears most hardly upon the gluttonous Turki, and all the powers of Hell are invoked by their pastors to frighten them out of eating and drinking during the daylight hours. The following epigram was repeated to me *à propos* of the Dulanis of the Yarkand River valley, but its application is much wider:

Roza tut'um jān uchun;	I fast in Ramazan to save my soul;
Kecha qopdum gāl uchun;	I wake at night to keep my belly full;
Tu ma'e desām qurqaman,	I fear to say "I am not going to fast,"
Gorda tukhmāq bār uchun.	For there's a rod that waits in Hell for me.

[1] Ali Arslan, the "Lion of Kashgar," was an Uigur prince, nephew of Sadiq Boghra Khan, who went down fighting the armies of Khotan. Why, in a Sunni country and in commemoration of a Sunni saint, the exclusively Shi'a festival of the Ashura should be celebrated, nobody was able to tell me.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

were most friendly and hospitable, so that we felt quite at home in the so-called New City, which looked as if it dated at least from T'ang times. The bazaars were not as picturesque and interesting as those of the Turki town and were too full of Tungans to be pleasant, but the environs of the New City and the shady banks of the winding Qum Ariq were a continual delight.

A favourite haunt was the Chinese (Taoist) temple of the God of the White Cloud. It is not an old place, but its shady grove and quiet courtyards are wonderfully pleasant and peaceful. It was founded by a bygone Commandant of the Aqsu garrison and was repaired, improved and endowed a generation ago by a devout Tao Tai called Peng. The God of the White Cloud communicates with his followers, or did so until recently, by means of divine writing, which curiously enough used to be done by a sort of planchette. I was shown this by the friendly custodian of the shrine. It consists of a wooden board with one leg only, the place of the second and third legs of the planchette being taken by handles which are held on each side by the mediums. There is also a large square wooden tray on which is sprinkled the sacred sand in which the planchette writes, and big high-backed uncomfortable-looking chairs on which the God and his divine associates sit, invisible, at the séances. Facsimiles of the God's writings hang on the walls; it was pointed out to me that the strength of many strokes was more than mortal, and certainly the piety of the sentiments translated to me from them was unexceptionable. It is a most unfortunate coincidence that since the departure twelve years ago of the two Tientsin merchants who acted as mediums, the God has vouchsafed no calligraphic messages to his flock. It would appear, indeed, as if he had no flock nowadays, for no worshipper seems ever to visit the temple except on the official holy days, when by order of the Governor the Taoyin and other officials attend service; only the old priest potters about, dusting a joss-stick tray here and a painted-cloth lamp there, clanging the temple bell and beating the great drum at the appointed times and occasionally, with loving reverence, changing the written prayers in the frames which stand before the god. The courtyards are grass-grown, but clean; the little square garden behind the temple is a tangle of vines and thick undergrowth of poplar, but the two picturesque wooden pavilions it conceals are in good repair and the shrines in them are care-

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

346 .771

fully tended; the "guest-room" off the middle courtyard is crudely decorated with aniline-dyed embroideries and rugs, but it is always kept ready for the mighty Visitor who never comes.

Though it is unfrequented, though it represents a dead faith, the shrine of the God of the White Cloud at Aqsu is an abode of peace and reverence, very different from the filthy, tawdry travesty of a temple which is all that Kashgar can boast.

* * * * *

Our farewell to Aqsu was perhaps the most trying and, in retrospect, comic of all our "public" departures from Central Asian towns. By way of acknowledgment of the hospitality we had received, I somewhat rashly presented the Tao Tai with a fine Wiltshire ham which had lately arrived from England. This put the coping-stone on our popularity, and word went round among the officials that we were to be "seen off" in proper Chinese style. Seeing a person off in China apparently means turning up to tea on the morning of his departure and delaying his start as long as you can. Next morning at 9.30, just as I was superintending the loading of our ten new baggage-ponies, a yamen runner arrived with the news that his master the Amban was coming to call. In vain my protests—two minutes later enter the Amban with the usual herd of Begs, interpreters, policemen and hangers-on of all kinds. D. leapt out of the back window just in time, with instructions from me to see the rest of the ponies loaded and escape when she could; I said I would follow as quickly as possible. Tea and cakes were produced from somewhere (by the gardener, I think), and I sat down to an hour's chat with the Amban. Half an hour later the ponies were all loaded and D. was just pushing them off down the narrow lane which led to the main road; suddenly, more cries and clatterings, a fanfare of bugles and the Tao Tai with a following twice as big as the Amban's came charging up the lane. A stampede ensued; half the loads came off, the ponies mixed themselves up in each other's ropes and the courtyard became pandemonium let loose. Smiling blandly, the Tao Tai passed through it unscathed in the midst of his henchmen and added himself to my tea-party within. It took D. and the servants another half-hour to restore order and refix the loads; then off they started down the lane once more. As they did so, another Chinese cart swung into it at the other end, followed

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

1. General Introduction

The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghiz (chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Uzbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-huĭ-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Tu-jen), Monguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin. Hsi-po) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lamą Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (kariz system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the Northwest agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

SN 563 [795] all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only SN 563 668 177 life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

SN 181 IV. Dominant Social Motives.

The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who SN 181 771 [769] cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on. In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious ambitions; although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

SN 181 771 of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods, but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.

SN 181 The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and government, can be described as the average conception of the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor altar being almost the only furniture.

SN 342 35 SN 517 501 565 423 Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course, the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia, became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep inclination towards Communism.

SN 565 501 423 178 668

SN 563 233 In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2

V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

SN 563 153 779 155 outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal social stability of family and community at the expense of personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvorschrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is rather justified.

SN 563 153 185 [158] If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one certainly should not forget that there has been still room for romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over the universe.

SN 563 538 While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus), Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

SN 563 775 771 [829] The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat), is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

SN 563 771 As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

in the case of Tibetans more than in the case of the Mongols and Turks.

While the attitude of the average Northwest Chinese is rather indifferent to national problems, at least as long as his economic position is not unfavorably affected, his approach to individual problems is characterized by a distinct realism and opportunism.

The provinces of Kansu and Shensi, almost exclusively populated by Chinese, are, in comparison with the provinces of China proper, less progressive in regard to education and general living standard; therefore the frontier Chinese is more conservative but also more suspicious and distrustful when faced with innovations and reforms. He relies more upon himself, seeking and expecting less help from the bureaucracy.

Generally speaking, the frontier Chinese can be divided into the following groups: the descendants of those who were exiled and ostracized for political reasons during the Manchu period, further on, the descendants of criminals who were sent to the frontier areas as workmen, and last but not least, the colonist (the overwhelming majority), partly adventurers and desperados and partly surplus population of China proper and finally descendants of former garrison troops and merchants from China proper who were condemned to frontier service, desperately looking for new cultivable land.

Among the Chinese of the Northwest, those living in Shensi and Kansu belong to the oldest settlers. Detached and severed from his old homeland, the frontier Chinese is more versatile and more open-minded towards unusual and unaccustomed situations. The old Confucian ethics in regard to family life and relationship with neighbors is still very strong.

The frontier Chinese is possessed by a romantic feeling for his old country. His position at an outpost in a remote area makes him see the old homeland in an euphemistic light.

The frontier Chinese has to prove true and to stand the test more than the Chinese of China proper, which creates a healthy measure of self criticism without falling into the neurotic error of self-laceration. The frontier Chinese is difficult to influence since he is more unrestrained and less bound to his environment than the Chinese of China proper.

The obvious propagandistic success of the Communists in the Northwest does not contradict the above-mentioned phenomena, because the Communistic propaganda proceeds in an atmosphere of terror and the Chinese, as a born realist and opportunist, inclines to rationalize his pretended acceptance of propaganda.

N
635
162 Chinghai: The total population of Chinghai province is just over one and a half million. Althoug it is the smallest in number it is the most varied in composition, and it is the most unevenly distributed. About two thirds of the total population live in the few counties of the Hsi-ning district along the Huang-shui (Hsi-ning-ho) and Ta-tung and the main upper Yellow River in the eastern part of the province. These counties originally belonged to Kansu and were added to Chinghai when the province was formed in 1928. The remaining third is widely scattered. As a result of the territorial shift in provincial administration, the population of Chinghai is predominantly Chinese. The Chinese and Dungans plus some Moslems (Salars) are distributed mainly in the eastern portion of the province. According to a questionable report some 25,000 Salars have recently moved from Sinkiang into the province of Chinghai. Also a small group of Kazakh have recently migrated into Chinghai. Some of them are found in the extreme Northwestern part of the province, bordering Sinkiang.

The next important elements are the "Fan" or Tibetans and Mongols. The Tibetan "Fan" are found in the higher parts of the province, such as the Nan-shan Mountain Belt in the north and the Ta-chi-shih massif in the southeast and Yu-shu district, or open plateau areas south of the Baian Khara divide, drained by the upper Yangtze River. The Mongols, Monguors (Tu-jen) and Oirats are found essentially in the upland basins of Tsaidam and Koko Nor.

S
635
162 Sinkiang: Sinkiang is the largest province in size, covering one sixth of the country-s total area. It is twelve times larger than the province of Hopei. It has the smallest population among all the provinces except Chinghai . Apart from the north and southwest part of the Dzungarian Basin and the Ili Valley where they are more evenly spread, the people are concentrated in isolated clusters of oases scattered around the Takla Makan Desert in the Tarim Basin. The main portion of the population of Kashgaria or the Tarim Basin is concentrated in these oases at the edge of the desert and along the foot of the encircling mountains. The valleys of the surrounding mountains are occupied by nomads and semi-settled natives leading a pastoral life.

The composition of the 4.8 million population of Sinkiang is most complicated. Sinkiang is known as a "Natural Museum of Ethnology of the World." Here one finds Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Turks, as well as some Indo-Europeans living side by side. As Pevtsov has said: "From the ethnological point of view the natives of Kashgaria resemble a mixture of ancient Aryans of the Iranian branch with Turco-Mongols. By religion they are Sunna Moslems; they are very friendly toward foreigners.

S
[771]

II. The Turkic People of the Northwest

563
101 A. The New Uighurs (or Eastern Turks)

The Turks of Sinkiang call themselves after the cities where they live, e.g. Kashgarlik, Turfanlik, Kuchalik, etc.... After [668] the Communist Revolution the Communists introduced the term Uighurs for the Eastern Turks, living in the Ili District. The term later was adopted by the Chinese.

563
144 1. Physical characteristics

In one sense the Eastern Turks are the descendants of the old [167] Uighurs who migrated to present day Sinkiang during the ninth cen- [175] tury A.D., Later they had mixed with Indo-european tribes and other Turkish tribes of the Chagatai Ulus (empire) and to a small degree also with the Mongols. Thus, in the terminology employed by E. Frhr. von Eickstedt, "Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit, Stuttgart, 1934, the Eastern Turks show many europid and some turanid racial characteristics, and only a slight degree of mongoloid traits.

142 A more detailed description of the average physical type of
141 Eastern Turkestan is as follows: dark hair and eyes, (sometimes
563 lighter occasionally blue eyes), white or yellowish skin with sometimes a slight inclination to brown, middle or tall stature, on the average 1680-1700 mm., with a tendency toward obesity. The head is definitely brachycephalic with a length-width index of 85-87, a longish-oval face, with wide cheek-bones, a straight and rather prominent nose, eyes lacking the mongoloid fold, and everted lips.

2. Economy

433 The main occupations of the Eastern Turks are horticulture,
563 agriculture and animal husbandry. The Eastern Turks breed camels, horses, sheep, and goats. They are famous for their fertile fruit-orchards, which are mostly artificially irrigated. Handicraft is fairly developed, but has no economic significance.

3. Religion

771 The Eastern Turks are Moslems, adherents of the Sun sect.
563 However, they display an attitude towards religion. This does [793] not refer to the leading religious clergy who form a kind of a gentry together with the nobility of the rich landowners.

4. Social organization

178 In contrast to the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and Uzbeks, the Eastern
614 Turks have lost their clan system and tribal organization com-
563 pletely. There is no antagonism between the Eastern Turks and
186 the remaining Turkic tribes, although the nomadic Turkic tribes
563 exhibit some contempt of the Eastern Turks. However, there is an old and remarkable hatred between the Turks and the Chinese, due partly to the greater efficiency and industriousness of the Chinese.

563 619 614 Known clan names of the Middle Horde are the following: Chakchat, Chardzhid, Turtul, Karaul, Karakisak, Kandzhagali, Achai, Tarakli, Kulchan-Argin, Kundelen, Usun, Tanabuga, Karabalik-Kipchak.

3. Economy

563 233 433 [342] The Kazakhs are still nomads. The rear camels, horses, sheep and goats. In contrast to the Eastern Turks who live in brick and mud houses, they live in felt tents. The Kazakhs are famous horse and camel breeders. Sheep play the most important role as sources of wool and meat. Like the Kirghiz and the Mongols, the Kazakhs have carefully explored, selected and defended summer pastures and protected valleys for the winter time.

563 181 The Kazakhs are very proud and independent. They dislike any political supervision and are known to have avoided tax collectors by crossing the borders to Mongolia or Soviet Russia.

4. Literature

563 538 [193] [212] The Kazakhs have a huge folklore which is being handed down from generation to generation. They still use the Arabic script, but only a small percentage of noblemen and clergy are literate.

5. Religion

563 771 The Kazakhs are Moslems, belonging to the Sunna sect, but they are in no way passionate and ardent believers like, for instance, the Turks of Persia. Their nomadic life obviously does not permit strict observance of the Islamic regulations.

D. The Kirghiz

101 1. History

175 563 Prior to the Communist Revolution the Kirghiz were called Kara-Kirghiz or Burut. When the Kirghiz were driven out of Mongolia by the Kara Khitai (shortly before 924 A.D.), some moved southwest into the areas where they now live.

563 [619] [614] [144] The Kirghiz are subdivided into two wings: Ong-the right one, and Sol-the left one. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz have a very well preserved clan system. They are believed to represent the oldest Turkish tribe. As far as their physical characteristics are concerned, what has been said about the Kazakhs is also true for the Kirghiz; i.e., the Kirghiz also had mixed with Mongol clans at a very early period.

2. Their regulation

[147] [181] [212] [538] The Kirghiz have a reputation for being extremely resistant to rigorous climate, hunger and diseases. They are well known for their wit and sense of humor. Although most are illiterate, their vivid folklore is handed down in every single tent and many Kirghiz tribesmen are able to quote thousands of rhymes from their epic songs.

3. Economy

563 361 233 Their weather-beatend faces show that they live in the mountains. They breed horses, camels, sheep, goats and yaks. When

563 summer comes, they take their cattle way up on the pastures of
361 the mountains. The winter forces them to descend and to spend
233 some months in the more protected valleys.

4. Religion

563 The Kirghiz are Moslems of the Sunna Sect. Their script is
771 Arabic and is known only by noblemen or clergy. The only Moslem
[212] rule which is strictly observed is that of abstaining from eating
[262] pork.

5. Changes under Chinese Communist rule

563 In order to fight illiteracy the new Chinese Communist Govern-
871 ment erected schools for the Turks of Sinkiang in almost all villages,
668 towns and cities. The Chinese claim also that the process of making
177 them sedentary has brought remarkable progress to the Kirghiz.

E. Uzbeks

563 1. Physical characteristics

[369] Only a few thousand Uzbeks live in Sinkiang, and they live ex-
clusively in the cities. Outwardly they are utterly different from
[142] the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, since they represent the alpine,
[141] europide and Iranian type of Turk. They show long, narrow faces,
heavy hair growth, brown, sometimes blue, eyes, no Mongolian
fold, sharp prominent noses, white skin, body height 1700 to
1840 mm. Mongoloid features rarely can be found. In most cases
Uzbek are the same physical type as the peasants of the European
Alps.

2. Economic activities

[463] The Uzbeks live as merchants, inn-owners, and craftsmen in
[369] Sinkiang cities. They are more educated than any other Turkish
[871] tribe of Central Asia, since they have absorbed a great deal of
Persian culture. Many Uzbeks speak Persian as a second language,
[191] and Chinese as a third (like the Eastern Turks), while Kirghiz and
Kazakhs know only their mother tongue.

3. Religion

[771] The Uzbeks are Moslems of the Sunna sect. Kirghiz and Kazakhs
call the Uzbeks Sart, which simply means Turks who broke away
from their nomadic way of life and became merchants.

4. Origin and linguistic affiliation

[101] The Uzbeks, living in Sinkiang came from Soviet Uzbekistan.
They received their name from Ozbek, a fourteenth century Khan
of the Golden Horde.

[197] The Uzbek language can be considered as the direct descendant
of the Chagatai written language. Even today the difference between
written Uzbek and the Chagatai language is very small.

F. The Salars

1. Physical characteristics

[131] The Salars live in Hsün-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the

563 Huang-ho and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on
[131] one section of the road from Hsi-ning to Ho-chou. They differ considerably from the average type of Chinese Moslems. They
[142] are tall and lank. They have large and not flat noses, black and level eyes, cheekbones not prominent, long face, thick eyebrows, full black beard, retreating forehead, flattened occiput, brown but never yellow skin. Thus they are similar to the Turks of Chinese Turkestan.

2. Language and religion

[197] The most remarkable characteristic is their language which might be called a corrupt Turkish. In religion they are strict
[791] Hanafis and show great respect to their clergy. However, for the
[273] most part they are rather given to the drinking of spirits. Even
[212] the lowest classes sometimes are acquainted with the Arabic alpha-
[175] bet. They are said to have received their present form of religion from a reformer named Maming-hsin (Muhammad Amin) who taught about 1750.

3. Social organization

[193] The Salars are believed to have settled in their present habi-
tat during the Yuan or Ming dynasty. They claim to have migrated
[614] from the Samarkand area. According to Schramm, who quotes General Ma Fu-hsiang, the Salars are subdivided into the "inner five clans" and into the "outer eight clans" (Chinese: kung). The
[197] latter lost their original Turkic language and now speak Tibetan.

The Salars are said to preserve clan traditions very well and
[614] they do not marry anyone who does not belong to one of the Salar clans. They also have a reputation for being very fanatical Mos-
[791] lems, and have participated in all the Moslem uprisings of the 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

G. The Sarigh Uighur (Chinese: Huang-fan)

[175] When Mannerheim visited the Sarigh-Uighur in 1907, there were
[361] only 100 families to be found. This small tribe lives in three villages on the northern slopes of the Nanshan Mountains, in the area of Tun-huang, Su-chou and Kan-chou. They have preserved their
[178] tribal name and their Buddhist religion but they gave up their Uighur
[212] script during the eighteenth century and adopted the Tibetan script.
[177]

1. Physical characteristics

563 Mannerheim describes them as generally having excessively
142 prominent cheek bones. But he also saw several people with oval shaped faces and not strikingly prominent cheekbones. However, in general the type of face is short and somewhat broad. Some of the women have thick noses. The mouth shows neither thin nor thick lips. The eyes are small and the distance between them is also normal. (Mannerheim obviously employs European standards when he talks about "normal" or "average.") The corners of the eyes were open and there was no inner epicanthic fold. Their hair

563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

[233] The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
[556] economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[291] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent
[167] a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[441] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[538] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
[167] Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols, but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
[197] two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a Western Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
[233] be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[342] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[614] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
142

20

/The New Uighurs/

563 121 175 out clearly by the Orkhon inscriptions in which the Khaqan complains bitterly of the Turkic susceptibility to Chinese culture, and the rapid sinification of his people. In this sense, sinification meant that the Turkic tribes gradually gave up their nomadic life and settled in more permanent camp sites. These events had strong repercussions on Turkic social structure, which moved from kinship to function and territory. After the New Uighurs had been expelled from their ancestral lands by the Kirghiz in 840 A.D. they settled around the Tarim Basin. They had to [177] abandon their nomadic way of life and to learn Chinese irrigation practices in order to survive and to maintain a certain level of productivity.

563 175 565 554 Thus the New Uighurs established what may be called an irrigation civilization. Class lines in New Uighur society became more flexible. Whereas noble status was based on descent in the nomadic era, high social prestige and, therefore, high status was now attained by wealth gained through efficient labor and irrigational practices. Nearly all the irrigation canals were dug by collective effort. However, the actual water right of each farmer was in proportion to the quantity of labor he contributed to the digging. Irrigation regulation was entirely a matter of self-government. The Mirab, or keeper [624] of the registry and person in charge of water distribution, and his assistant the Kokbeshi, were chosen by the village. This meant considerable social mobility, though traces of a more rigid class structure remain. For example, the Aqsaqal is the successor to the former tribal chieftain, but unlike the former he is chosen from among the villagers, and his office [771] is not hereditary as was that of the tribal leader. Class lines based on racial distinctions do not exist among the New Uighurs, since the unifying factor in the society is not race but religion. [582] Should a New Uighur marry a Chinese woman, she becomes a member of the community by "baptism."

563 565 The following distinctions may be noted in the New Uighur class system as a whole:

[423] 1. About two-thirds of the New Uighur population belongs to the small peasantry, holding title to one to three acres of irrigated land. On rare occasions a small peasant may till up to thirty acres. Politically, this social stratum has little or no power, unless they participate as a group in a mass movement.

[423] 2. About one-eighth of the New Uighur population belongs to the "landed gentry" holding title to fifty or more acres. All their land usually is rented to tenant farmers, who pay the landlord up to eighty per cent of the land's produce. Politically, this segment of the New Uighur class structure is the strongest, or at least it was, prior to 1949. Usually the communal leaders are elected from this segment of the population.

C. The Kirghiz

563 1. The people

Taking Tien-shan as a whole, the Kirghiz form the leading [771] element of the population. They are Mohammedans of the Suni order, but they are not strict followers of their religion. Their [642] system of government is patriarchal, control of the different [622] sections being vested in tribal elders who enjoy almost unlimited authority. The elders (Manap) are chosen by the people, and regarded with honor and respect.

[233] The people are nomads whose main occupation is cattle rais- [241] ing. Only a small proportion of the population engages in farming.

563 2. Patterns of living

342 a. Dwelling

The Kirghiz do not live in houses. The poor live in shelters [184] made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks. The rich live in tents, smaller and less ornate than the Mongolian yurt but more solid with thick layers of felt. A light tent is called an aq-ai. It stands a gale very well, as the shape is such that a high wind presses the structure even more firmly to the ground. To make it more stable, a large stone is placed in the tent and the woodwork of the roof is anchored to it by a rope.

The shape and structure of an aq-ai are similar to those of [354] the Mongolian yurt, but the interior arrangement differs. A fire [353] always burns cheerily in the middle and a cauldron of mash simmers upon it. At the far end is the kitchen, which is screened by gaily colored mats of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool. [251] Here the housewife stores her milk, cream and curds in vast [231] wooden bowls. When the weather is wet, a row of young lambs occupies one corner of the tent. They are tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. Saddlebags, sieves, hats, [353] wool, coats, skins and so forth are hung along the tent walls. Piles of rolled-up felts and rugs occupy about a quarter of the circumference of the tent. The wealth of the owner may be guessed from the size of the piles.

563 The interior decoration in the tent of a wealthy Kirghiz is 342 often artistic. The walls are hung with embroideries made by 352 the women, and the ground is covered with carpets. There are 353 also pillows covered with multi-colored chintz of Chinese or Russian manufacture. Furniture is not generally used. There is [415] an occasional table, a few copper pots and pans, and some brass jugs used for boiling water and making tea.

563 b. Food

262 Staple foods for the Kirghiz are barley, bread, milk and its 252 products, such as sour cream and qurut, a kind of cheese. In most tents there are cauldrons of brewing mash, a mixture of flour and milk. Qurut is made by drying sour cream in goatskin.

/The New Uighurs/

563 576 mutual courtesy. In addressing one another they use the polite form of you. The same politeness is demonstrated between wife and husband. Parents use the equivalent of "thou" to address their children, servants or workers. Upon meeting a friend or entering a friend's house they say "As-salam Alaikum," and the reply is "Alaikum as-salam." They inquire about the health of the family, then bow and shake hands. Only women kiss when they meet, and only if they are related. When they part they say "Khosh," or "Allah Akbar," meaning, "The Lord is great."

563 576 574 264 [782] The more religious women pray before eating or starting to do something. Washing the hands before and after meals is mandatory. Bowls of water and towels are provided at a feast or banquet table, and hands are washed between courses. When a hostess serves refreshments to a guest, the guest rises, bows and says "Ishqallah," meaning thank you. Polite speeches are made by both host and guest on the guest's arrival and departure. Good manners are regarded as important.

4. Superstitions and taboos

563 771 [776] [778] [769] The New Uighurs attach superstition to almost everything. They believe in witches, ghosts, charms and talismans. As mentioned before, they believe in the powers of local saints and heroes, to whom they have dedicated innumerable shrines, and certain superstitions connect these shrines with the curing of disease and the bearing of children. Ancestor worship is also strong among them, as shown by the popular names of the shrines.

[756] [755] [789] 563 771 775 [782] [825] The people are also firm believers in witch-doctors, and in magic powers that cure disease, induce love, or sow enmity between people. Ghosts are much feared, especially the ghost of a Chinese. People regard the Urumchi Road from Kashgar as a haunt for Chinese ghosts. They believe that if one is haunted he may be able to propitiate the ghosts by leaving money on his doorstep overnight. If the money is gone in the morning, the ghosts have taken it and will make no further trouble. They also have a superstitious dread of snakes, and believe that if one kills a snake, its mate will haunt him.

563 372 [777] 563 821 The New Uighurs try to maintain an everlasting fire in their fireplaces, to bring prosperity to the house. Ashes from the fireplace are carried out at night or before sunrise, for to clean the fireplace and take out the ashes during the day may bring misfortune to the household. They fear thunder, and during a thunderstorm they pray for deliverance from threatening danger.

5. Religious celebrations and festivals

563 796 Like the festivals of Moslems the world over, the festivals of the New Uighurs are deeply colored with religious influence. Besides Fridays, which are generally celebrated, the people have only three main holidays, Rōse-häyt, Kurban-häyt and

795 to religions other and older than Islam. The Moslem priests,
796 powerless to destroy the popular worship of certain shrines,
798 adopted those shrines and named them after Islamic personages.

The Turki is a great believer in the efficacy of local saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over the country dedicated not only to the "imams," but to later saints and heroes. These sanctuaries usually have some beliefs and observances attached to them, connected either with the curing of diseases or with the bearing of children. At shrines of the latter type, the majority of pilgrims are women. The mullas have therefore been obliged, for the sake of propriety, in each case to invent a female saint, complete with legend, to bring the cult in line with Islam. The
[178] popular names of the shrines reveal that most of these cults
[769] have been derived from the ancient practices of ancestor worship.

• 791 Paganism, as well as ancestor worship, is still prevalent in
796 this land despite a thousand years of Islam. Many of the religious festivals, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar, are more pagan than Moslem. They are merely popular gatherings for the purpose of feasting and enjoyment, and are probably older than Islam.

793 The clergy in Sinkiang is divided into two categories: the
794 judges and the priests in one, and the simple clerks in the other (the mullas). The latter class includes all males who can read and write and wear a turban. Above these mullas, there is a class of mosque officials with specific functions: the Muazzin, who calls the believers to attend the daily prayers, the Imam, who leads the services, the Mutakib, in charge of seeing that the laws of the Koran are observed, the Reis, prefect of discipline, the Khatib, who delivers the Friday sermon, and the mulla a'lam, doctor of law who is also in charge of the circumcision ceremony.

793 The resources of the clergy consisted mostly of waqf, land
[423] property which had been donated to them or confiscated by them. In spite of the Chinese confiscations of clergy landed property, until recent times this constituted an important source of income for the clergy. Other clergy sources are the Zakat, donations from richer believers, casual fees, judicial fees, and fees paid for marriages, funerals and so forth. The Zakat is not a very substantial source of income, as the Sinkiang Moslems are lax in adhering to this obligation. At present it is almost impossible for the clergy to subsist without resorting to some secular occupation.

793 The judicial power and the police functions of the clergy in
692 the past have diminished greatly during the Chinese administra-
[177] tion. The Qazis judge cases which are brought voluntarily to

N
771 "The traditions, the rituals, the basic and essential relation-
182 ships which govern men's intercourse, control the small circle
living in such far-away places as rigidly as they control the
N family which dwells in one of China's great cities. Both act ac-
[769] cording to principles laid down by ancestors, whose control is
so subtle and so little questioned as to leave no room for the
spontaneous and the unusual." (Cable and French, The Gobi
Desert, 165-166.)

S
771 Chinese settlers in Sinkiang of course reflect the religious
795 characteristics of their origin. Among the old settlers, who
[575] came into the country with Tso Tsung-t'ang, the secret society
tradition is still strong. Merchants, mostly from Tientsin,
almost universally belong to the Tsai-li sect which forbids its
adherents indulgence in drinking and smoking.

IV. Religion under the Communists

N
795 A. Islam
*668 When they were fighting for the supremacy of China in the
177 years following World War II and when they first came to power
in 1949, the Chinese Communists promised religious freedom
to the national minorities in an effort to gain their support.
Article 53 of the Common Program of the CPPCC, promulgated
in September, 1949, stated that "the national minorities shall
have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to pre-
serve or reform their traditions, customs and religious be-
liefs." Mosques were promised exemption from taxes and
Article 3 of the Agrarian Reform Law, published in June 1950,
which decreed the confiscation of the land belonging to ancestral
shrines, Buddhist temples and Christian churches and schools,
provided for the retention of land by the mosques, subject to the
wishes of local Moslem residents. As a further effort to win
over the Moslem population of the Northwest, the Government
Administration Council issued in December, 1950, a directive
permitting the observance of the festivals of Id-el-Fitr, Corban
and Molid Nabawi. It abolished tax on the slaughter of cattle for
celebration of these festivals and permitted holidays for cadres,
soldiers, workers and students of Moslem faith. State trading
companies were instructed to sell daily necessities to the Mos-
lems, during these festivals, at reduced prices.

These pronouncements made up the sum total of what the
propaganda of the Chinese Communists called the "policy of
N benevolence" toward the national minorities. They were given
[798] tremendous publicity which served to overshadow the grimmer
and more gory record of persecution of the Moslem peoples in
the Northwest. The reasons for the ostensible policy of toler-

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration